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How Should We Encourage Democracy Abroad?

A radio discussion over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System

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How Should We Encourage Democracy Abroad?

MR. McBURNEY: Let's come directly to our question: Should we encourage democracy abroad? Why should we undertake anything like that, Morgenthau? What is the rationale behind our attempt to encourage democracy abroad?

'Political Reasons'

MR. MORGENTHAU: In my opinion there is only one reason why we should encourage democracy abroad, and that is the promotion of the objectives of American foreign policy. I would not believe for one moment that it is any of our business to embark upon an ideological crusade for the purpose of bringing democracy to the rest of the world, but there are regions on the face of the earth where it is vital in view of our political interests, to strengthen or even to create a democratic government. Take, for instance, Western Europe, if you would fail to support democracy in France and Italy, France and Italy in all probability would be Communist and Communism in those countries would mean an enormous and threatening expansion of Russian power. Take, on the other hand, Southeast Asia, in all probability the alternative to Communism in those countries is some kind of democratic government. If, let me say, what they have got by way of democracy in Indonesia would fall, Communism would be its alternative. Again, Communism would mean a threatening expansion of Russian power. It is for this and no other reason that I believe we must support democracy and promote democracy in foreign countries.

MR. McBURNEY: Mr. Morgenthau wants no ideological crusade and he has made his position very clear. If we are going to promote democracy abroad, it should be done purely on the grounds of expediency. Do you go along with that?

MR. CARLSON: I would like to take issue with that idea. The essence of democracy as a true idea applies to all men in all places at all times. We must realize the world cannot indefinitely remain half free and half slave. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and the world in which one nation after another is picked off by revolutionary, undemocratic juntas is not the world we want.

MR. McBURNEY: Mrs. Wright, you have something to say on that?

'Economic Democracy'

MRS. WRIGHT: It depends on what kind of democracy you have in mind. Mr. Morgenthau is thinking of political democracy, the imposing of institutions with which we are familiar in other countries, or in the cases of Italy and France, the bolstering of democratic institutions which they already have. There are other kinds of democracies. There is an economic democracy which we are trying to promote through Technical Assistance and Point Four, a cultural or social democracy promoted by our exchange of persons program. These and others serve quite a different purpose, I believe, as far as our foreign policy is concerned. We are only trying to promote democracy in the political, institutional sense in Germany and Japan, countries for which we have some responsibility, but we have other purposes in other areas.

MR. COLEGROVE: I believe that the kind of democracy we are trying to encourage would stem both from a certain idealism within our own breasts, and also the need for protecting our own foreign policy abroad. I would say that American democracy means rule by the majority of the people with safeguards for the minority, that is, constitutional guarantees of right of free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, to-

gether with the right of opposition parties to oppose the government. It also includes something we call the American way of life, something that means that all people should share in the economic benefits of the country, that is, we should have a high standard of living.

Now I would stand with John Stuart Mills and his remarkable essay on representative government in which he says that democracy or representative government is the highest form of government in the world. But John Stuart Mills recognizes that not all peoples are ready for the kind of democracy that Great Britain or the United States have. He says that the criterion for any given people as to the government that they should have must answer the question: What form of government best develops or brings out the good qualities of the people? So it may well be that Yugoslavia or Spain are not ready for American democracy. That is very evident. Yet, that fact doesn't mean that we should not associate ourselves with them and use them as allies in the great effort to combat Communism.

'Good Example'

I would add that the American way of life traditionally calls for teaching by good example or precept. We should set a good example to the rest of the world with the kind of government we have in the United States. Our American way of life calls for good faith to our allies, it calls for honesty in government, and self-determination of peoples. For a long time, the Arab world was very sympathetic to the United States because we supported self-determination of peoples. But when President Truman's administration sold out the Arabs in Israel, we lost the Arab world because we behaved in a very undemocratic manner. When we deserted our ally in China, Chiang Kai-shek, and helped his enemy Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Reds to capture China, we set a bad example to the rest of the world. Today, our federal government is dishonest; it is full of graft from beginning to end. We have had twenty years of corruption under

Roosevelt and Truman. This is a very bad example of democracy to set to the world.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I am very much impressed with what Colegrove has said, even though I have doubt as to the examples he has mentioned. If I remember correctly, the Arabs were overwhelmingly in favor of the Nazis during the second World War, long before Mr. Truman recognized Israel. Furthermore, insofar as Chiang Kai-shek is concerned, no country has an obligation, and Hamilton recognized that in 1793, to commit suicide in order to support its allies. I doubt, however, very much that that example by itself is a very potent weapon in foreign affairs. After all, what good did it do the Danes or the Norwegians or the Dutch in the second World War that set a wonderful example of democracy? Their military power was the only thing that counted, and in comparison with Nazism, it was so slim that it could not save them. So, I think we ought to put those different elements of the problem into the right perspective. We have to realize that setting an example is important, but it is by no means the most important aspect.

Importance of Strength

MR. COLEGROVE: I am afraid Mr. Morgenthau isn't putting this question in the right perspective when he speaks of democracy in Denmark. You have to be big and strong to make an impression upon other countries. Denmark was small and weak. Because of our greatness and our strength, the American people can set an impressive example on one hand because we are large and strong, and on the other hand because we are upright, honest, and support policies which are inherently good.

MR. MCBURNEY: There is no question we would concede some importance at least to the power of example in encouraging democracy abroad. What constitutes a good example is a matter we might discuss at considerable length, but I would like to explore specifically the issue that Morgenthau raised earlier, whether we

are not involved in two contradictory policies in our attempt to contain Russia, Russian imperialism, on the one hand, and an attempt to promote democracy abroad, on the other. We get ourselves into some strange inconsistencies.

MRS. WRIGHT: Nobody has improved on the statement that "Politics makes strange bedfellows." That applies to our present situation. If we are going to contain Russia in a military sense, we must use our power. We have to use military power and strategies and include countries with whose ideologies we do not agree. Such policies have a definite purpose I would say as a short-range program in dealing with any immediate, crucial question, but there is an awful lot of the world that is still in a state of flux and is forming its political ideas and developing its political institutions. It seems to me that in many parts of the world, the Middle East and India, Pakistan, Southeast Asia, and to a lesser degree Latin America, and other parts of the world, there is an opportunity to set an example which will show what democracy can mean for people. Democracy can mean a pattern which will be evolved. The danger lies in the fact that in making friends for military purposes we will alienate those whose minds we are trying to influence by our own democratic ideas.

'Negative and Positive'

MR. CARLSON: Mr. McBurney, one policy I think is negative and the other is positive. Frequently we have to follow policies which seem to be close to expediency, and the others close to principle. Often nations must follow both policies at the same time.

MR. MCBURNEY: I take it, if I follow Morgenthau, he repudiates the whole notion of trying to export American democracy abroad.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I wouldn't go so far, but if you put it this way, I certainly oppose the export of democracy for its own sake. I would indeed say it is none of the business of any nation to export its way of life, its

political institutions, its political philosophy to other nations. We have a plurality of nations, of ways of life, and of political philosophies in the world, and each ought to be saved in its own fashion. So the idea of a crusade doesn't appeal to me at all.

MR. CARLSON: We must stand, Mr. McBurney, for the kind of government and political philosophy which provides a certain possibility of free expression, where public opinion exists, and the rights of the minority are respected. Whether you call that exporting the idea or standing for it, we must, I think, stand behind that kind of doctrine.

Points of View

MRS. WRIGHT: I agree with Mr. Morgenthau, the different countries, different cultures, different civilizations have their own way of looking at this. The Arab groups in the Near East will tell you they have a higher degree of democracy than we have.

MR. MCBURNEY: The Russians say that too!

MRS. WRIGHT: You can't talk about democracy as an entity. You have to break it down into the practices and the opportunities which our particular form of government gives to people. You have to remember when you talk, Mr. Carlson, about people having a right to express themselves, you are discussing rights about which more than half the people don't even read.

MR. CARLSON: We must spread the rights. . . .

MRS. WRIGHT: Spread the facilities with which you learn to read. That is what the United States is trying to do through its Technical Assistance program. Democracy is based on education, and we are trying to expedite the educational processes all over the world.

MR. COLEGROVE: McBurney, it seems to me that countries should of course, export their best product, whether these are commercial goods or whether they are ideas. Democracy, of course, is a great idea, a

great ideal at the same time, and we think a practical and healthful way of life. The only question is, how to export it. It seems to me that the most effective way to export this idealism is through private enterprise, through private institutions rather than by a bureaucratic government. Nations who are propagandized by other nations, by other foreign governments are, of course, very suspicious of such propaganda. I think the promotion of American democracy through our bureaucracy has not been very effective abroad. In the past century, our private American citizens have been very successful in bringing the American way of life to foreign countries all over the world. Our missionaries, both Catholic missionaries and Protestant missionaries, in the Orient particularly, in Japan, in Korea, in China, have spread a democratic way of life that is truly remarkable. Their medical missionaries have brought health and comfort to a great number of people. They have taught these peoples to read and to write, and thus lifted the educational standard. Then, American colleges abroad, Robert College in Constantinople, the American College in Beirut, the American College in Cairo, have promoted American thinking and American democracy in a way that is effective and in a way that doesn't cause these people to be suspicious because it is governmental propaganda.

Point Four

MRS. WRIGHT: I would like to point out Mr. Colegrove has described the present American government program under Technical Assistance and Point Four. The medical work, agricultural work, the educational work is just what the government is financing. . . .

MR. COLEGROVE: I haven't described it that way!

MRS. WRIGHT: I am sorry. . . .

MR. COLEGROVE: I am talking about the missionaries and American colleges that are not connected with the Washington government in any way whatsoever.

MRS. WRIGHT: I understand that, but the type of work that the missionaries did do and are still doing is now being done by the government. The government is providing the funds, but the actual work has to be done by private individuals, in many cases by private institutions, but it is greatly expedited. There is more money and more talent. It is speeding the process which you so admire.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I agree with the objectives of Point Four. It is a pity only that the noble formulation of that principle in Mr. Truman's message to the Union of January, 1950 has remained almost a dead letter. Very little is being done in that field.

MRS. WRIGHT: May I question that? Why do you say that?

Military Appropriation

MR. MORGENTHAU: Look at the amount of money which has been appropriated for Point Four and compare it with the amount of money which has been appropriated for military and economic assistance in Europe, and with the money spent for rearmament.

MRS. WRIGHT: There is an answer to that one. You and others think that the money should go into the military establishment. Point Four, insofar as it is a Technical Assistance program, does not involve great expenditures of money. Its bottleneck is getting the personnel trained to do it. You noticed this week in President Truman's message he jumped his Point Four request from \$44 million to \$650 million. It shows the experience of the last two or three years must justify the amount of money being spent for this purpose and call for a greater expenditure. The numbers of countries that have applied for assistance and the projects under way, I think, would belie your statement it has not been effective.

MR. McBURNEY: Is the purpose of this Point Four program, through which we give economic and technical assistance to some of the underprivile-

aged areas of the world, to encourage democracy abroad?

'Oppose Communism'

MR. MORGENTHAU: I would say that certainly its purpose is to encourage opposition to Communism. As far as democracy itself is concerned, I doubt you can say that the direct effort of those programs will necessarily be a strengthening of whatever influence democracy has in those countries. I don't believe at all that you can put Point Four under the heading of "export of democracy." After all, we tried to export democracy in two World Wars, and as the end result, after those wars were fought for democracy, we had less democracy than we had before. I don't believe that you can really say that Point Four is an attempt to spread democracy and to bring the ideas of American democracy to the rest of the world. It is rather an attempt to improve the social and economic health of certain nations which, if their health is not improved, will fall prey to Communism.

MR. COLEGROVE: Before we leave this point, perhaps I ought to call attention to one thing Mrs. Wright has said with which I would disagree, namely that the government can do a better job in teaching democracy to foreign people than private enterprise.

MRS. WRIGHT: The government could provide money in larger amounts than private people are willing to pay at the moment.

MR. COLEGROVE: If they are more effective, it will be because they spend more money. Now, what I was trying to say was this: Foreign peoples are always suspicious of any education or propaganda that a foreign government carries on. It could be that private institutions and private people could spend just as much money in this work as the government. If the present federal administration didn't tax the American people beyond all reason as at the present time, our citizens would have more money to spend for the education of

foreigners with reference to democracy. Again, I might suggest that we could have national legislation which would give us a little larger deduction from our income tax. Fifteen per cent is now deductible for gifts to charitable and educational institutions. Congress might well add an extra five per cent deduction from the income tax to those persons who gave money to private institutions for education abroad. That system would undoubtedly allow private institutions, private organizations, churches, and private individuals to teach democracy to our fellow beings in all parts of the world without the menace of official propaganda.

Taxation

MR. CARLSON: I should like to make two observations there. If people were given a greater allowance in their income taxes, they might use the surplus for automobiles and pleasures, and not in aiding educational institutions all over the world. The other has to do with the point Mr. Morgenthau made. I wonder if it is true there was less democracy after World War I. Because of that conflict, the Austrian empire, the Russian empire, the German empire and Turkish empire collapsed, and with their collapse came the possibility of building a future democracy.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I would not agree with that on the basis of historic evidence. The collapse of the Turkish empire did arise via democracy. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire did arise via democracy. If you regard postwar Germany, it was a weak democracy which prepared the way for the most ruthless of totalitarian systems the modern world has seen. I would like to stick to my original proposition. With regard to the effect of the second World War on democracy, the evidence is obvious. It is always a strange fact which we are not to lose sight of today, when the United States is the most powerful nation on earth, its ideals are less popular in the rest of the world than they have ever been before.

MR. McBURNEY: What is our government trying to do to encourage democracy abroad? What is the program, Mrs. Wright? Tell us about it.

Plan of Government

MRS. WRIGHT: Our government is making a definite effort to make our way of life more popular by taking a large risk, by inviting leaders from countries literally all over the world, to come to the United States and see democracy. I agree you cannot export democracy. It is a way of life and it has to be demonstrated, so we are inviting people to come and see a demonstration. The government spends several millions of dollars, again a very small amount compared to military expenditures, but a substantial amount when you think in terms of travel for various leaders and specialists. We have agricultural people, we have educational people, we have press people, radio people, movie people, and musicians, every profession I believe, has been represented in the leaders and specialists brought to this country to see the way we do things like that. This is called the Exchange of Persons Program. We send some Americans abroad with this money, but we bring many more here. One of the great results of it is to combat Soviet propaganda in a field which most Americans don't think too much about, the cultural field. When you say people don't like our ideals, it is because of their ignorance. I blush at the conception which some of these visitors have of Chicago as a city made up entirely of the stockyards and gangsters, and when I show them the art museums, the medieval manuscripts, scientific development in the largest medical center in the United States, they realize the United States has a cultural aspect.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I would not doubt the value of the Exchange of

Persons Program. Again I say a foreigner, however impressed he may be through his visit by the results of American democracy, if when he goes back to his own country into an environment which is essentially anti-democratic, where the sources and conditions militate against a viable democracy, his visit will not have any great effect, or any effect at all upon the promotion of democracy abroad.

MRS. WRIGHT: Anybody in the educational field should be in sympathy with this program. You train leaders to start ideas going, you take a chance. Our great difficulty is we may not have time for this program to develop.

Private Institutions

MR. COLEGROVE: The whole administration of education abroad, so far as the United States is concerned, should be in the hands of private institutions, and not in the hands of a bureaucratic government. I think such a thing as the Moral Rearmament Movement at Caux, France, is doing much more than our State Department at the present time in promoting democracy abroad. Foreigners as well as our own citizens are deeply suspicious of any program of the State Department and the U.S. government to transport persons to this country for what they regard as indoctrination. They will not be so suspicious of a program initiated and carried out by private institutions.

MR. MORGENTHAU: I don't agree with that at all. I think the main task of our government ought to be to promote in countries such as Italy and France a healthy economic condition, land reform in Italy, tax reform in France and Italy, and similar healthy conditions in . . .

ANNOUNCER: I am sorry but our time is up.

Suggested Reading



Compiled by William Huff,
and M. Helen Perkins, Reference Department,
Deering Library, Northwestern University.



DANIELS, WALTER M., ed. *The Point Four Program*. New York, Wilson, 1951. (The Reference Shelf, v. 23, no. 5).

The origin, content and actual conduct of the Point Four program are discussed from various points of view.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM O. *Strange Lands and Friendly People*. New York, Harper, 1951.

Conditions in Iran, Greece, Israel, India and other Near Eastern states as Justice Douglas saw them in his travels, with thought provoking suggestions as to how the U.S. could constructively help the people.

HOFFMAN, PAUL G. *Peace Can Be Won*. New York, Doubleday, 1951.

The former director of the Economic Cooperation Administration and his associates chart a program of economic, political and psychological action for the U.S. to follow in pursuing peace.

HOWARD, PETER. *The World Rebuilt*. New York, Duell, 1951.

How honesty and unselfishness are helping to spread democratic ideals among the peoples of many nations.

LASKER, BRUNO. *New Forces in Asia*. New York, Wilson, 1950. (Reference Shelf, v. 21, no. 6).

The story of evolution and revolution in Asia with its challenging problems and the impact of the Occident.

LAUBACH, FRANK. *Wake Up or Blow Up*. New York, Revell, 1951.

Having spent fourteen years advising and teaching the peoples of sixty-eight countries, Dr. Laubach points out the desperate need of the world for the type of help which will carry truth, justice, democratic friendliness, literacy and technical know-how to the masses.

MOWRER, EDGAR A. *Challenge and Decision; a Program for the Times of Crisis Ahead, for World Peace Under American Leadership*. New York, McGraw, 1951.

"Physical and moral extinction are ahead for the world if the United States does not affect the threat of Soviet Communism through a decision for world leadership in forming a Peace Coalition of non-Communist countries."

SMITH, HOWARD K. *The State of Europe*. New York, Knopf, 1949.

The chief of the European News Bureau of the Columbia Broadcasting System surveys the history and politics of Europe and the United States during the four years following World War II.

SUMMERS, ROBERT E., ed. *America's Weapons of Psychological Warfare*. New York, Wilson, 1951. (The Reference Shelf, v. 23, no. 4).

Describes the organization of psychological warfare in the U.S., current strategy, proof of effectiveness of the "Campaign of Truth", critical evaluations of the propaganda effort, and proposals for more effective tactics.

SUMMERS, ROBERT E., comp. *Economic Aid to Europe: The Marshall Plan*. New York, Wilson, 1948. (The Reference Shelf, v. 20, no. 2).

Excerpts from many articles on the development, results, and future needs of a major plan of economic assistance.

American Political Science Review 45:961-73, Dec. '51. "Variations on a Familiar Theme." P. H. ODEGARD.

Shows the need for teaching human values, the role of reason, and social responsibility if America is to have an ideology to present which will make other peoples want democracy.

Congressional Digest 31:3-32, Jan., '52. "President's Point-Four Plan and International Politics."

The origin of Point Four, how it works, and its issues today, as seen by a number of outstanding Americans.

Foreign Policy Bulletin 31:4, Feb. 1, '52. "Can West Hold Indo-China?" V. M. DEAN.

Questions the type of policy for the U. S. to follow in Indo-China and other Asian lands in the face of the rapidly growing movement of "Asia for the Asians."

Saturday Evening Post 224:28-9, Jan. 26, '52. "Hole in the Iron Curtain." R. THRUDELSON.

The amazing story of the Voice of America as it functions today with a forecast of projects planned for the future.

Saturday Review of Literature 35:8-9, Feb. 23, '52. "They Want American Ideas." A. WHITRIDGE.

A Fulbright Professor of American Civilization at the University of Athens tells of his experience in giving fifteen lectures on the American way, in various towns of Greece.

Scholastic 59:7-9, Jan. 16, '52. "Invisible Front."

A pro and con discussion on whether the U.S. is winning the war of words, describing the work of the Voice of America, the Educational Exchange project and the Point Four program.

U. S. Department of State Bulletin 24:780-783, May 14, '51. "Effectiveness of the Voice of America." F. D. KOHLER.

From the requests for schedules and the number of letters received from VOA listeners it would appear that such broadcasts are one of America's chief means of fostering democracy abroad.

U. S. Department of State Bulletin 25:989-94, Dec. 17, '51. "Advances in Assisting Underdeveloped Areas." M. J. MANSFIELD.

A review of problems and accomplishments in promoting the economic and social development of backward areas through assistance by grants and loans of the U. S. Government, by private investment, missions, and technical assistance.

U. S. Department of State Bulletin 25:1024-27, Dec. 24, '51. "Trust Territories' Progress Toward Self-Government." F. B. SAYRE.

Examples of moves towards democratic self-government in the Pacific Islands and Tanganyika.

U. S. Department of State Bulletin 26:161-4, Feb. 4, '52. "The Partnership Which Must Not Fail." C. B. BOWLES.

India's problems and what the United States is doing to help her solve them.



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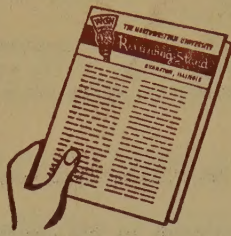
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